48. K. 1. 2.

A True and

Experimentall Discourse, upon the beginning, proceeding, and Victorious event of this last siege Of BREDA.

With the Antiquity and Annexing of it, to the House of *Nassaw*, and the many alterations it hath suffered by Armes, and Armies, within these threescore yeares.

Together with the prudent Plots, Projects, and Policies of Warre: The Assailants and Defendants matchlesse man-hood, in managing Martiall Affaires: The misery and manner of souldiers living, their pinching want, and fatall accidents: Strange weapons and Instruments used by both parties in severall Conflicts.

Lastly, their concluded Articles, with the circumstances and ordering of the siege and Victory. Being pleasant to peruse, and profitable to observe.

Written by him who was an Eye witnesse of the siege.

WILLIAM LITHGOW.

LONDON:
Printed by *I. Okes* for *I. Rothwel*, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Sunne. 1637.

The Prologue to the *Ingenious* READER.

Iudicious Lector:

THou mayst admire to see my flying Quill come unto such a low flight, as the Belgian *Provinces: which formerly slighted (in the late and large Discourse of my long and fastidious Travailes) this Westerne World: but made a step from* Paris *to* Rome: *Nay, scarce of* Rome *it selfe, would my pen peruse any paines, till my face sighted* Greece, *and Easterne* Europe. *Whence there my feete footing pedestrially many* Regions *in* Asia, *and thence consequently* Voyaging *in* Affrica, *by two severall turnes and Returnes. It is a wonder (I say) to behold my Remote Labours, fall now upon* Breda *in* Brabant, *our neighbour soile, divided from us only (as it were) by a Channel of the Sea. And yet reason fortifieth my intention, since now inability of body, restraineth me from any further lanching abroad, and my preteriat daies of long worne time, being stricken in age, retroverteth*

His booke of nineteene yeares travailes, performed by 3. severall voyages.

the ancient Proverbe *backwards upon my ſelfe: To wit,* That young men have wide eies abroad, and old men narrow eies at home: *VVhich now I begin reciprocally to countercambiat, being of both ſayings participant. But underſtand me better, were not* Conopas *and* Molon *two little* Dwarfes, *as much Renowned in* Pliny *for their ſmalneſſe, as thoſe two huge and monſterous* Gyants Cyclops *and* Enceladus *reſt famous in* Virgil *for their bignes. And why may not a Mountaine produce a Mole-hill: for although, perhaps, this preſent matter ſeeme to thee as a Flie ſitting upon an* Elephants *back, in compariſon of thoſe my rarer Relations formerly exhibited to the wide deſirous World: yet now the time, the ſight, the place, the ſubject, and the accidents about* Breda, *command me, and have commanded me to leave a ſtampe of their Protractures to this preſent Age, and ſucceeding times. Which thou ſhalt not peruſe like to flaſhing* Currants, *lying ſurmiſes, blind-folded Gazetoes, feined by Domeſticke imaginations, or frivolous reports of flying doubts. No, no, but receive and read this Worke from my owne occular experience, whereof I was a daily* Teſtator. *And it alſo beſides, being grounded upon the ſoundeſt judgements of the beſt Officers there; but indeed more narrowly ſearched by me from the common ſouldiers, who daily and nightly were incident unto the Tragicall accidents of the ſubject it ſelfe, from whom as from a fountaine, I have drawne the Chriſtall truth of this Relation, ſo much as concerned their paſſive*

A compariſon betweene Gyants and Dwarfes, recorded by Pliny & Virgil.

The ſight of Breda incited the Author to performe this Worke.

Experience excelleth farre all flying reports.

proofe

proofe and Knowledge, the reſt and beſt relyeth upon my ſelfe.

Neverthelesſe (Gentle Reader) *if this familiar ſtile ſeeme not to thee ſo accurate and Elegant, as I have done heretofore in other Workes, impute the fault thereof to a diſordered Leaguer, my miſerable lying on cold ſtraw, in ſtraw-huts, and unſhifted apparrell, to the clangor of Armour, the ratling of Pikes, the hurling of ſhouldring Muskets, the clamour of tongues, the ſounding of Trumpets, and the noiſe of Drums: where, when, and whilſt I was in writing this experimentall Diſcourſe, diſtempered my quietnes. Yet howſoever that turbulent time, croſſed my Pilgrimagious paines, I have made it plaine to the ignorant, and intelligible to the Prudent, and withall to ſatisfie the apprehenſion of any curious conception. And ſo I reſt, leaving thee, as I leave my ſelfe,*

The diſturbant impediments of an Army, to a pen-man.

To be thine, as thou
art mine,

William Lithgow.

To

To his ſingular friend and Renowned Travailer Mr. *Lithgow.*

CAn not this Ile, *thy wandring minde contayne,*
When age *hath crown'd thy Forrain toiles & ſight,*
But now that Belgia *muſt thy ſtepps ſuſtaine,*
To prie where Mars *involues his awfull might:*
Thy former Travailes *lend the World great light,*
And after times thy memory ſhall praiſe:
But now Breda *claimes in thy paines a right*
To rouze her worth, her ſtrength, her change, her ſtrays:
Thou bring'ſt remoteſt toiles, to home-bred waies,
And turnes thy Tune, to ſing a Tragick ſong.
It's done and wel, each worke thy merit raiſe,
Patron *of* Pilgrims, Poët, Pen-man *long.*
A Souldiers phraſe, thy curious ſtile affords,
To fit the ſubject, with their deeds and Words.
Soare then (brave Spark) on flying wings of Fame,
That in this taske, revives thy living name.

Alexander Grahame.

To his peculiar aſſociate, and pilgrimagious Brother, *William Lithgow.*

FRom Paris *once to* Rome *with Thee I went,*
But further off thy brave Deſigne was bent;
Which thou atchiev'd, in two-fold Aſia *twice,*
And compaſſ'd Europe, *courted* Affricke *thrice.*
O curious toile! expoſ'd in ſoiles remote,
But rarer far that rare Diſcourſe thou wrot
To light the World: and now thy Quil the while,
Shuts up Breda, *within this Tragicke ſtile.*

Iames Arthur.

A True

A true Experimentall Discourse,

upon the Famous Siege, and Happy *Recovery of* Breda, *the Mistresse of* Brabant, *and Mother of* Mars.

Done,

By the Thrice Illustrious, and most *Victorious Prince*, Henry, *Prince of* Orange, Marquesse of *Camphiere* and *Flushen*, Earle of *Nassow, &c.* Lord of *Isseilmond, Brafort*, and *Mewreis, &c.* Baron of *Breda*, and *Leck, &c.* and *Lord chiefe Generall of all the Armies under the united States, as well by Sea, as by Land, at home, and abroad.*

AFter long and tedious Travells, over the spacious bounds and *Tertiat* face of the auncient World, and now fallen in the rotten bosome of *declining Age*, the Sun being set on the winter-day of mine elabourate time: yet it was my fortune, in this yeere, 1637. *May* 16. at *Clary*, (being bound for *Russia*) to take my leave of the truely Noble and Magnanimous Lord, *Alexander*, Earle of *Galloway*; whence being mounted upon a *Gallowedian* Nagge, I sigh-

ted *Rose* in *Cumberland*, where courting Doctor *Potter*, that painfull Preacher, & religious Prelate the Lord Bishop of *Carleile*, I set face through *Stanmore* to *Haulkland* in *Bishopricke*; where having saluted there, that excellent Scholler, and pious Pen-man, Doctor *Morton*, Lord Bishop of *Durham*, I fell downe in *York-shire*, to *Bishops-Ouff*, and my humble homage made there, unto Doctor *Niell*, my singular good Lord and friend, the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, where leaving his Grace, in the fulnesse of his deserved Dignity, I arrived at *London*, and so to Court.

The mutabilities of time.

Divers weeks being spent there, in beholding the changes and vicissitude of Time and Fortune, whereof I was both a *Testator*, and *Probator*; I left the new-begun Progresse, and stepped downe to *Gravesend*; where staying for my *Russian* voyage, and Shipping sayling, the Summer being also gone, I resolved to goe see *Breda*.

An ignorant Skipper.

Well, I, and threescore other passengers boorded a *Londoner*, whence falling downe to *Leye*, and lying there 3. dayes and nights, having faire weather, and roome windes, I found the Master of the Barke, *R. Ia.* an In-dweller neare the *Tower wharfe*, so fearefull and ignorant, that he neither could goe out of *Thames*; nor when he coasted the *Holland* shoare, hee knew not where hee was. Sayling thus blindlings, with a blind guide along the Marine, and North-East, and having out-stripped our Port 60. Miles; a Pilot boorded us, and brought us to *Tassill*, in *North-Holland*: But by your leave, ere we could returne and recover

cover *Rotterdam*, which ſhould have beene our Landing-place, it coſt us paſſengers above 200. Engliſh Crownes.

This I onely particularize, that Merchants may ſee how too too often they put their goods in hazard, with the like ignorant fellows, whereupon oftentimes they finde deſervingly the fatall iſſue thereof. Being diſmiſſed hence, and ſurveying the goodly Citties of *Altmore*, *Harlem*, and *Amſterdam*, in *North-Holland*, I came to *Leyden*, a dimenſious Towne, wherein there is a learned Academy, and the yeare before, (as I was informed of one Mr. *Chriſtian*, a Printer there) there were 28000. which dyed of the Plague in a ſmall time, and notwithſtanding I found the Towne exceeding populous: Thence carrocheering to *Dunhag*, that wide-winged Village, and Courtly Reſidence of the united States, I imbarked for the Citties, *Delfe*, *Rotterdam*, and *Dort*, whence being mounted upon a *Belgian* flat-bottom'd Boate, I landed at *Guttenberg*, and ſo I pedeſtrially advanced three Leagues to the *Scots* quarter by the way of *Terheyden*, to ſee the cruell and deſpightfull defendants of *Breda*, environed with the mercileſſe fury of the States invincible Aſſailants. And now I thinke it not amiſſe to diſcourſe a little of the Towne, and the Antiquity thereof, before I come to the ſequell Siege, and thus.

A *Holland* Progreſſe.

This Towne of *Breda*, is ſituate upon the faireſt planure, and dryeſt ground that generally *Brabant* includeth, and environed with a ſweet

The Deſcription of *Breda*.

salubrious ayre, not usuall in these places; yea, and whose Champion-face over-topping the Champaine lands about, with an admired regard, over-looketh, with a singular Metropolitan Majesty, all the neighbouring and circumjacent bounds; that me thought, when I first saw it, it had an awfull and predominant aspect, both for its admirable strength, and pleasant situation.

Two Rivers, *Marke* and *A*. There are two little Rivers, which runne from the South, and through it, where being within its body conjoyn'd in one, they cast forth their divulgements a *Dutch* Mile thence, in the insulting Sea of *Terheyden*: The chiefest of which two Rivers, which then run by the Prince of *Orange* quarters, is called *Marck*: The other that keept his course through *Grave Williams* Brigade and *Scots* quarter, is called *A*. But when they kisse other, *A*, looseth it selfe in *Marck*, and resigneth its name to the Towne, whence is derived *Bred-A*.

It hath onely three Ports, toward the South *Ginicken* Gate, toward the West, *Antwerp gate*, and toward the East, North-East, the *Busse-port*: yet toward the North, it hath from the Castle, a private passage unto the house of pleasure, which is a quarter of a Mile without the Towne: But that Port and Bridge were onely ordayned for serving the entery and issuing of his Highnesse of *Orange*, and his followers.

As for the construction of the Towne, it standeth chiefly (not mainely) Triangular, whence these

theſe three Ports are the three Angles of its ſtationat ſeate, and its body North-ward, lying halfe Ovall, diſbendeth Eaſt and Weſt, two incorporate points.

And now to come to the Fortifications; it is ſtrongly fortified, with high earthen Walles, and from them are builded fifteene Baſtions or Bulwarkes, round about, each counter-banding one another, ſide to ſide, and flanke to flanke, having a quadrangled diſtance betweene each of them, which layeth open for every ſeverall ſpace the intire body of the Towne-walls: whence each Bulwarke running out with a ſharpe Promontoriate face, out-braveth the adjoyning Fields, with a defencible defiance. The fortification of *Breda*.

The Walls and Bulwarks themſelves are environed with a large Graffe, or Moate, being of breadth in moſt parts, one hundreth threeſcore and ſeven foot, and in depth eighteene; and they alſo hemb'd in upon the brink of the water-ſtank with a ſtrong double hedge of Thornes, that ſecure the Walles from any ſuddaine ſwimming or aſſault.

Now without this broad Ditch, at the forehead of every Bulwarke, lyeth a large and ſpacious Hornewarke, with two, and ſome with three heads, which are the chiefeſt ſtrength of the ſtrong Towne, and they alſo environed with deepe waters, the largeneſſe of each of them cannot repugnably bee defended without five hundred men: And betweene them, and before each of them, lyeth a *Demi-lune*, or halfe Moone-

The workes without the Towne, and Moate.

worke, and sometimes here and there in the full bosome of the maine Moate, there stand certaine *Redoubts*, some Triangled, and others Quadrangled, besides other circulary Monts, which are all compassed with unpassable Graffes: So before the head of each Hornewarke, and without all these other strengths, there are sharpe-pointed Counter-scarfes, figured like the *Aquilean* wings, and fixt upon the maine dry ground, which is the utmost defence of all the other workes; and betweene each and all of them, there are little narrow and low Timber-bridges to passe from one another, as necessity shall require; insomuch that the workes without, are the onely strength of the Fortifications within.

For albeit the Bulwarks round about enjoy the Cannon, yet they, the inferiour workes, are more strictly breasted with the pouldering Musket, Pike, and hand Garnads: that certainely, according to the best judgements of all Invaders there present, and Military Souldiers, it seemed a thing impossible to over-master that impregnable place; if otherwise, the right owner thereof (as I may say) had not beene the chiefe Commander and Master-piece of such desperate and inexpugnable assaults, whose auspicuous fortunes hitherto, have rather followed him, than fled him: for so fortunate have beene all his attempts, that he never lay downe before a Towne, and intrenched, that hee tooke not in, and so much the more absolutely victorious, howsoever fatall to disastruous Souldiers.

And

And now to ſpeake of the Townes inſide; it hath a moſt magnificke and curious Cathedrall Church, high and ſpacious within, and farre more glorious without; having a Steeple ariſing from its maine body, to ſuch an incredible hight, that ſcarcely I never ſaw the higher. It mounteth ſquared, with foure Coynes, and ſome where garniſhed with Galleries, and double Columnes, till it come a great way above the body of the Church; and then it gathereth in ſmaller and ſmaller, till a circular and ſpacious Globe overſhaddow all the inferiour dependancies: ſo from this *Rotunda*, ariſeth the Steeple higher and higher againe, till another leſſer Globe decore the intermingled diſtances betweene both; and ſo to the higheſt top it groweth more and more beautifull, till an exceeding high Iron-croſſe, and a gilded Cocke mounted thereon cover all.

The high and magnificke Steeple of *Breda*.

The Towne is a *Scots* Mile in length, in the middle part whereof a ſtately and ſpacious Market-place, having extracted thence three principall Streets, anſwerable to the three Ports, with foure maine over-thwarting Streets, croſſing from Wall to Wall the bredth thereof; beſides other narrow *Contxades* and backe-lanes, two whereof are in good Requeſt. There are two other Churches in it, with two Hoſpitalls: But above all, (the great Church excepted) the Caſtle is moſt formidable and defencible, being the ancient Manſion, and native Birth-place of that Princely Progeny of *Orange* and *Naſſow*. It is both a Fortreſſe and a glorious Palace, the in-

The Streets and Caſtle of *Breda*.

ner

ner Court whereof is curiously decored, with a gorgeous and Royall Fabricke, and it also contayning a Princely Hall, with divers Roomes, and magnificke Chambers: having thereunto annexed without the inmost Draw-bridge and utmost Court, a pleasant, spacious, and conspicuous Garden, full of sweet, savory, and fructiferous Trees, where on some are Summer houses and banquetting roomes erected.

As for the lower plots, they are fully beautified with all kinds of Flowers and Hearbs, and looking like the old *Chelsanian* Paradise, brought me in remembrance of these two incomparable Gardens of *Pretolino*, neare to *Florence*, and of *Pau* in *Bierne*, where *Henry* the *fourth* of *France* was borne. Loe, there is briefly the *Topographicall* Description of *Breda*, and so I will proceed to its Antiquity, present Siege, and fortunate Recovery.

Breda a Baronry, contayneth 17. Villages.

Breda, the noble and tryumphing Lady of all the circumjacent places about, comprehendeth under it a Baronry or Jurisdiction of Land, wherein are contayned seventeene Villages, and as many Parish-Churches: Confining with these Townes, of *Steenberg*, *Roosendale*, and *Oosterhout*; and standeth distant from *Bruxilles* eight leagues from *Antwerp* seven, from *Bergenopzom* five, from *Turnehout* foure, from *Hoogstraten* three, and from *Gutrenberg* two Leagues.

This Towne and Baronry of *Breda*, with the lands of *Leck*, *&c.* were annexed to the house of *Nassow*, *Anno* 1404. even then when Count

Engel-

Engelbright marryed Lady *Ieane*, the *Heretrix* of the aforesaid Lands: And thereafter for many ages, it was the Residence of the House of *Nassow*, till in the yeare 1567. Prince *William* of *Nassow*, was inforced to abandon it, at that ominous and disastruous comming of the Duke of *Alba*, into the *Netherlands*: And so it remained under the *Spaniard*, till in the yeare 1577, that the aforesaid Prince *William* did magnanimously recover the same, and kept it *Viriliously* in possession, till in the yeere 1581. that one *Haultepenne*, Generall of some *Spanish* forces, surprised it in the Night, *Iune* 25. who ransacked and burned the most part of the Towne.

The Vicissitude and victories of *Breda*.

And so it againe continued under the Dominion of *Spaine*, till in the yeere 159. the fourth of *March*, that one Captaine *Heraugier*, under the government and command of his late excellence *Count Maurice*, bythe meanes of a serviceable Ship to the Castle, loaden with Earth-fewell, under the which he, and some fifty chosen Souldiers were *nasconded*, and so by which Stratagem it was in the Night couragiously recovered againe from the *Spaniard*.

Then a few yeeres thereafter, *Anno* 1599. *February* 17. one *Antony Shets*, the Lord of *Grobendonk*, came accompanied with foure Thousand Footmen, and eleven Horse-troupes, and intended to have surprised it againe, out of the hands of *Nassow*, but he was meerely frustrated of his designe, and expulsed by the Defendants, with the losse of two Hundred men.

Then lastly, and a long time thereafter, *Anno* 1624. *August* 27. came *Ambrose*, Marquesse of *Spineola*, Generall of the *Spanish* Army, and laid a Siege to the said Towne: Meanewhile that his Excellence *Mauritius* had another higher Designe, and thought to have surprised the Towne and Castle of *Antwerp*, but his intention came to no perfection, and all by the base and cowardly proceedings of three Thousand *Dutches*, which had undertaken the execution of his Princely purpose: Insomuch that *Spineola* in this lost time lying before *Breda*, was so strongly intrenched, that it was impossible for Prince *Maurice* to brangle him, or to enforce him to lift the Siege, till such time that the Defendants within, were constrained, after a long and extreame famine, of eleven Moneths time, to surrender it upon good conditions to the aforesaid *Spineola*, *Anno* 1625. *July* the fift; where ever since, till this time, it hath beene a place of *Brigandage*, and miserable incursions, dayly executed upon all the Country about belonging to the States; by reason of their continuall sallying out of the Towne, some parties on Horseback, some on foote, as well by Water as by Land, which shut up all adjoyning passages, and domineering alwhere at their pleasure, returned ever loaden with booties and spoiles.

The famishing of *Breda* by *Spineola*.

Breda turned a place of *Brigandage*.

But now, to come to this present and last Adventure, his Highnesse the auspicuous Prince of *Orange*, having ever a speciall regard to reacquist his owne Heritage, and so eminent a place of

of ſingular importance as this Towne is; and hearing that *Marſhall Chattilieon* was fallen downe in *Artois* with a great Army, thought it a fit time to beſtirre his beſt wits and endeavours for ſuch a ſerious attempt, to hold the Cardinall awake on both ſides: And therefore cauſed Drummes to be beaten through all his Garriſons and with advice of the States, having levyed an Army of twenty five thouſands, Horſe and Foot, gave order for an infinite number of ſmall ſhips, to be in readineſſe for their tranſportation.

An Army levied by the Prince of *Orange*, and his politick proceeding.

Well, they are imbarked, and with them Artillery, Munition, Victuals, together with a great number of Pipes and Barrells filled full of water, as if he had beene mindfull for a *Flandrian* Iourney, or where freſh water was to bee wanted; and all this was done, but to inveigle and deceive the Enemy.

Meanewhile, the ninth of *Iuly*, being our *Penult* of *Iune*, they hoyſed ſayle, and advanced from the *Keill*, lying a League Weſt from *Dort*, and ſo ſet forward to *Rammekin* Caſtle in *Zeland*, where he was to make his *Rendevouze*, and to gather moe forces from *Bergenopzom*, and other adjacent Garriſons. Nevertheleſſe he was mightily croſſed with a South-weſt wind for certaine dayes, which ſeemed to oppoſe and counter-check his deſignes.

In this time the Cardinall *Infanta* hearing and fearing that the Prince of *Orange* would fall upon ſome part of *VVeſt Flanders*, cauſed with all poſſible diligence, to levy and convocate all the

A preparation in *Flanders* to resist the Prince of *Orange*.

forces of Horse and foote, that conveniently hee might spare, from affronting the *French* Army, that encroached so neare him.

And for this end there was a passage-bridge made at *Antwerp*, over the which there marched that same day into *Flanders* fourteene Horse-companies, and the following day *Grave Iohn* of *Nassow* marched along with forty Horse companies more, whereof he was Generall. Moreover, the Cavallery of *Breda* were called hither, and with them five hundred Firelocks on foote, and certaine amunition, which weakned the Towne so much the more, besides many foote-forces from other parts: Whereupon they, with all the rest, were distributed here and there, to defend the places and Ports of greatest importance, along the *Flandrian* coast.

A speedy advertisment to Count *Casmir*.

This being done, the Prince of *Orange* meane-while sent a speedy intendment unto Count *Henry Casmir*, Generall of the *Freizes*, (who then was gone up the *Rhyne*, waiting for Advertisment) that hee should fall downe upon *Breda*, and environe the Towne with his forces, till he came to him: That thereby these who had sorted forth, to assist the Cardinall, should not returne to strengthen the Towne any more.

Whereupon the said *Casmir*, who had under his Conduct fifty foote-companies, and thirty eight troupes of Cavallery, left the *Rhyne*, *July* 17. and marching with great celerity to the Towne of *Grave*, the day following at *Drunen*, he was seconded with the Duke of *Bullion*, who

also

alſo had brought with him certaine forces of Horſe and Foote.

Upon the one and twentieth of *Iuly*, they ſet face for *Breda*, marching with ſound of Trumpet, and touking of Drummes, the Cavallery with great courage environed the Towne that ſame day. Upon this their ſuddaine comming, they of the Towne rang their Bells, to give an Alarme to the Burgers, to ſave their Cattell that were feeding without; but they were prevented by the Cavallery of Count *Caſmir*, who ſeazed upon the greater part. Meanewhile the Prince of *Orange*, with his Army, departing from *Rammekin* Caſtle, *Iuly* 20, landed that day, and the next morning following his whole forces at *Bergenopzom*.

Breda beſet about with *Caſmirs* forces.

And it is to be obſerved for a notable Policy in the Prince, that whilſt his Army was on marching towards *Breda*, hee cauſed two hundred of ſmall ſhips, and in them certaine Companies of Firelocks, to ſaile along the Coaſt of *Flanders*, with ſound of Trumpets and Drummes, that ſo affrighted all the Coaſt, that they were continually in Armes for the ſpace of twelve dayes. Meanewhile, *Iuly* 23. 1637. the Prince arrived before *Breda*, and thanking his Couſin Count *Caſmir* for the good ſervice hee had done him in his abſence, and diſmiſſing the Duke of *Bullion* his Nephew for *Maſtrick*, they refreſhed themſelves, and the whole Army that Night with neceſſary Recreation, and heart-ſwelling hopefulneſſe.

The next morning, *July* 24. *Stilo Gregorio*, his Highnesse, with the State, or Councell of War, began to divide their Horse-troupes in certaine Bands and Numbers, here and there, to keepe Watch in the Countrey round about, and without them: and the same day with an incredible promptitude, they set downe their quarters, and begun their Entrenchments.

The Arrivall of the Prince of *Orange* before *Breda*.

The speciall and chiefest quarter, which was for the Prince, was ordayned to lie downe upon the South-side of the Towne, at the Village of *Ginnekin*, close by the River of *Marck*, and a short English mile from *Breda*. Upon the West part whereof lay five *French* Regiments, and neare them foure *English* Regiments, under the command of these foure Colonells, *Morgan*, *Gowreine*, *Herbert*, and *Colpepper*, besides two Regiments of *Dutches*.

The foure Quarters set downe and out Trenches.

And to the East, beyond the River, these Regiments of Count *Maurice*, the Count of *Solmes*, and the Lord *Bredrode*; and lastly his Highnesse Guard, consisting of three hundred chosen men, lay in the Village it selfe, neare to the Prince.

The second quarter lay downe at the Village of *Hage*, (before the West Port, named *Antwerp-gate*, and a mile distant from it) under command of the Marishall of the Field, *Count William* of *Nassow*, consisting of three *Scots* Regiments, and they also under these three Colonells, the Lord *Amon*, Sir *James Sandilands*, and Sir *David Balfoure*, to whose courtesies I was greatly obliged, and in a singular re-

spect

ſpect to mine old acquaintance, Colonell *Sandilands*; beſides the kindneſſes of moſt part of all theſe Captaines and other Officers there, who now and then did feaſt me with good cheere, and kindly draughts of *French*, *Rheniſh*, and *Spaniſh* liquors.

The reſt of this *Brigade*, were five *Dutch* Regiments, ſcarce worthy to be ſet downe here, as hereafter ſhall appeare in the owne place.

The third quarter or *Brigade*, was placed at the Village of *Teteringen*, on the North-Eaſt end of the Towne, before the *Buſſe-port*, and an *Iriſh* mile diſtant, under the Conduct of Count *Henry Caſmir* of *Naſſow*, with fifty foot Companies of divers Nations, *Freizes*, *Switzers*, *Vallones*, and *Dutches*.

The fourth and laſt quarter was appointed at *Terheyden*, North-weſt, under command of Colonell *Farick*, conſiſting onely of two thouſand Footmen, and three Engliſh miles from the Towne; which made no approach, but onely lay there ſtrongly entrenched, to guard the ſhips, for here ſtayed all the whole proviſion of Victuals for the Army, that came from *Holland*.

Now their quarters being placed, I proceed to the Lyne, or workes without, that environed all theſe divided *Brigades* or quarters. The day following, *July* 25. there accoaſted heere from *South Holland*, about foure Thouſand Bowres, who inſtantly with great toyle, alacrity, and expedition, fell to worke, with all kinds of pionarding Inſtruments, and in nine dayes time accompliſhed

Curious workes and *Redoubts*.

compliſhed the firſt Lyne or Trench: And within five dayes thereafter, being adjuved with Souldiers and neighbouring bowres, they finally perfected the ſecond or double Trench, inveſted here and there with *Quadrat Redoubts*, for the enſtalment of Ordnance, and their better aſſurance. Truely, I may ſay, a worke of great Admiration, that the power of thrice as many men as they were, could have performed ſuch a taske in ſo ſmall a time, each one of theſe two Trenches being in compaſſe full Eighteene Engliſh Miles, and more.

Breda beleaguer'd.

By which meanes *Breda* ſtood in the midſt of the Center, in regard of the Circuite; like a *Maypole* in a Market place, or like to a Theefe in a Common-Hall condemned to dye; for indeed it had an awfull Jurie ſummoned to its confuſion, whoſe proud contempt was every day fearefully examined. And yet notwithſtanding, howſoever buſie they were for their owne ſafeguard, the Enemy made as great haſte from *Flanders*, to intercept their entrenchments; but their expedition fell ſhort of prevention.

Nevertheleſſe *Grave Iohn* backed with eight Thouſand Horſemen, made a Bravado upon the Princes Quarter, but at their firſt preſentation, being ſaluted with the Cannon, they ſuddenly retyred into the Woods agen. The ſequell day, *Auguſt* 4. they fell downe Weſtward, and invaded the *Scots* Quarter; but they found no better ſucceſſe there, than the preceding day before; for beſides the Musket, the Cannon ſwept away di-

vers

vers rankes of them, flying in the ayre like *Phrygian Eagles* in a Randon; that they were inforced to ſeeke ſhelterage under Hedges, Thickets, and cloudy Groves. And that ſame night they retyred, the *Spaniards* within the Towne, made three times fire upon the Church-Steeple, denoting to the Cardinall without, their deſired reliefe; ſo the fourth night thereafter they did the like, but to no purpoſe.

Well, the Cardinall and *Grave Iohn* ſtayed fifteene dayes without, and about the Trenches, peeping here and there, and ſhewing themſelves after this manner. In all which time the Prince of *Orange* might make no approaches to the Towne; for having the halfe of his Army ever in Armes along the Trenches, he had not onely the Enemy without to reſiſt, but alſo the Enemy within to gaine-ſtand; which continually vext the quarters about, with Cannon from the walls, but to no great dammage, ſave onely ſome accidentall blowes, and they very few. And yet the *Spaniards* within, with theſe long roaving ſhots ſpent a great deale of Powder and Bullets, which in the end, the ſelfe ſame exceſſe became the chiefeſt cauſe of their overthrow and ſubjection.

The Cardinal and *Grave Iohn* attempted to relieve *Breda*.

At laſt the Cardinall being diſmiſſed, and marching up the Countrey with his Army of fifteene Thouſand, Horſe and Foote, he fell upon *Fenlo*, neare to *Maſtrick*, where being no ſoener arrived, but as ſoone one *Brederode*, a Baſtard borne *Hollander*, Governour thereof, ſold and gave up the Towne, for the value of twenty

Thouſand pounds Starling, being ſuborned and enticed by the Jeſuits remaining there: So was it a well deſerved Recompence for the Prince, that ſhould have admitted any Popiſh Prieſts to have ſtayed there, after he was Maſter of the place.

This baſe treacherous Villaine fled away thence to *Culloine*, with foure other inward Captaines, his Conſorts, where hee and they runne their heads, in the midſt of a Cloyſter to ſtay, which otherwiſe ſhould have beene detrenched for unnaturall Treaſon, being *Flemings*.

The reſt of the Captaines of fifteene Companies, came to cleare themſelves before the Prince, but three of them fell ſhort, and were left Delinquents, for the Councell of Warre to order their deſervings.

The Cardinal tooke in *Fento* and *Rura-mont* by treacherous ends.

Within two dayes thereafter, the Cardinall tooke in *Rurarmont*, but that was a place of ſmaller importance than the other, which is newly againe recovered. and ſo will alſo ſhortly the other; for his Highneſſe of *Orange* tooke them both, in ſixe dayes time. After this the Cardinall marching to *Maſtricke*, (whereof the Duke of *Bulloine* was, and is Governour) and intending to lye downe before it, hee was not able to beleaguer it, in regard of its ſtrength, and ſtrong Garriſon within, and of his ſmall Army without. Whereupon he made great haſte for *Artois*, to incorporate his forces, with another Army of his there, that were daily at *Pell mell* with the *French*, where now leaving them to their doubtfull events, I returne to *Breda*.

The Duke of *Bulloine* Governour of *Maſtrick*.

The

The Prince this while being ſoundly ſetled, and ſtrongly fortified with double Trenches, beſides many other Workes and *Redoubts*, both within and without the Lyne, then begun he to ſtop the current of the River *Mark*, that it ſhould not runne to the Towne; and withdrew its naturall courſe, along the backe-ſide of his owne Trenches, with maine force and power, of marvailous paines and workmanſhip, which runne along Eaſt and North-Eaſtward, to *Caſmirs* quarters, and ſo to the Sea of *Gutrenberg*: So likewiſe was the River of *A*, which runne by the *Scots* quarter at *Hage*, withdrawne from the Towne, and carryed along in both the Ditches of the double Trenches, North, and North-weſtward to the Sea of *Terheyden*; ſo that thereby it was impoſſible for the power of man to raiſe him, or to diſquiet his Army.

Two Rivers drawne from their courſes.

And yet more, on the North ſide of the Towne, at the houſe of pleaſure, (being a place of Recreation for the Houſe of *Naſſow*) by which the Sea flowed up in *Mark*, to *Bredaes* Port, hee cauſed to damme it up, and ſtop the flowing thereof, with huge toyle and charges, and daſhed back againe, in deſpight of the Sea, its owne diſgorgements; and ſecured ſo the North parts of the Towne, that there was neither iſſuing from it, nor entering to it.

The flowing Tide re-enforced backe to the Sea.

Being thus wonderfully fortified, hee ſent away the fourth part of his Army, Horſe and Foot, to ſtrengthen the Garriſons of other frontier Townes, becauſe the Enemy was roaving

abroad. And likewise he caused to make Bridges over *Mark* at *Terheyden*, and *Ginnekin*, with three Bridges over *A*, and its branches, whereby the whole circuite of the Trenches within was made passable. Now betweene every quarter about the Lyne, there were eight posts, or divisions of Companies, set upon guard in Quadrons, and betweene these intermingled spaces, there were Centinells fixed, each one within speech of another; where their continuance of all, was ordinarily twenty foure houres, before their renewing reliefe came; I meane from their quarters.

The ordinary posts about the Trenches.

All these things exactly done, and provided, then his Highnesse begun to make his Approaches; where neare to a Water-mill, erecting a Halfe Moone for preservation of Centinells, and workemen, that were to advance other workes dayly neerer and nearer the Towne; and three Troupes of Horses placed there for a safeguard. There sallyed out of the Enemy, a little after Mid-night, above twelve hundred men, where making an assault upon the Halfe Moone, being sixe for one; yet by a fresh supply which came forthwith from the quarter, they were couragiously repulsed, and chased to the Towne, leaving 28. killed behinde them, and thrice as many wounded they tooke with them.

Divers Conflicts.

But now understand me better; there were divers other sallies made every day out of Towne, as well in the other quarters as here for 3. weekes space, till their Batteries were erected, and as many repulses given them backe againe with some killed,

killed, ſome wounded, and ſome taken priſoners on both ſides.

But to ſhun prolixity, I thinke it beſt to diſclaime their Diurnall and Noctuall proceedings, which as they were but fatall and diſaſtruous Accidents, ſo ſhall the relation of ſuch crooked fortunes be as unſavory, and unpleaſant to the Judicious Reader, whoſe Curioſity would rather reſt on the maine and moſt ſelected points, than in peruſing the miſery of miſerable effects. The next ſtrenuous and more forcible advancement, was a Battery reared halfe way to the Towne, and planted with ſix halfe Cannons; and to the Eaſtward of it, divers *Redoubts* ſhadowed with Pikes and Muſkets, then began they to make ſport to the Enemy. And ſhortly thereafter, there were two other Batteries nearer and nearer erected, enſtalled with Cannon and Cannoniers, then played they thick day and night, bellowing Martiall Muſicke, againſt that great and high earthen Bulwarke at *Ginnekin* Port. Upon which the *Spaniard* had 9. piece of Ordnance, and a whole Cannon enſtalled, beſides other Pieces planted on neighbouring Bulwarks.

The Approaches begun.

Grievous and hot was the ſervice on both ſides, and ſometimes their aymes ſo juſt, that they burſt one anothers Cannon, for almoſt they never reſted; inſomuch that the Chryſtall Aire, and azure ſkies were rent aſunder, and darkened with the excrementall ſmoake of their combuſtible paines; yea, and the people and Country Villages abroad and about, were deafned and over-thundred with

Thundering Cannons and roaring Muſkets.

their reverberating Ecchoes; and lastly, their tremenduous noyse, and re-enforced rebounding sounds made the Tents, Howts, and Sutlars shops to quake, and the ground to shake and tremble, that me thought the ordinary Earthquake of *Puteoli* had beene transported hither to the Princes quarter, and yet it was neare an English mile from the inmost Mont and most dreadfull Battery.

At last, within 17. dayes, the *Spaniards* Cannons were dismounted, and they quite beaten off the Bulwarke, and constrained to settle their Ordnance on the lower Flanks of counterbanding *Bastions*, and could shoote no more at Randon; then every man went safe and freely about the Fields and quarter.

The Infantry begin their workes.

But now leaving these Batteries, to batter downe the Towne-houses, Ports, and mouldring Walles, I come to the Military proceedings of the *Infantery*, and their Approaches: forthwith and at this instant, began they their encroaching workes and Trenches, making two Divisions: the *French* on the right hand, and the *English* on the left; and thus in short time they accoasted the Enemies *Counterscarfe*, and with much adoe beate them from it, to the *Hornewarke* within: where, and at which time there were cruell Conflicts for certaine dayes and nights, and valour exposed to the uttermost of worth.

Well, at last the *French* and *English*, breasting the *Hornewarke*, and striving who should first

invelope it, their contention fell equall to either, for both their Buſſe-bridges were alike ſoone over the circulating Moate. Heere was great mortality betwixt either Factions, within and without; for the Muskets playd continually as thicke on others faces, as the Winter-hayle, which whiten the ground. Both Nations attempted the *Hornewarke* in the evening, but were beaten backe againe to their great diſadvantage; notwithſtanding, about three a Clocke in the Morning, the magnanimous *Engliſh*, made another brave and fortunate aſſault, cutting off circumſpectly the Centinels, broke in upon the Enemy, putting ſundry to the Sword, ſome to ſummerſing ſwimming, and tooke priſoners a *Spaniſh* Captaine, with his *Alfiero*, and twenty five Souldiers alive, which were not redeemed till the Towne was ſurrendred, being vanquiſh'd pledges, for blazing abroad the meritorious fame of the *Engliſh* attempt.

The *Engliſh* couragiouſly tooke in the Enemies *Hornewarke*.

There, and at this time was Captaine *Croſts* killed, and that Honourable Gentleman Colonell *Gowreine*, ſhot in the legge with a moſt dangerous and pittifull hurt, to the great lamentation of many noble hearts: Beſides the death and deadly wounds of many commanded Gallants, and uncommanded Voluntiers; amongſt whom was one *Peter Ape-ſlee*, ſhot through his cheeke and mouth, taking away two of his fore-teeth, which indeed was a ſharp caveat to temper a jeering mouth.

The *Hornewarke* being thus regained by the ſingular

singular valour of the *English*; then with much difficulty the two distinctive Nations fell to, and turned over the inner-side of it defencible for themselves, with a number of turnings and windings deeply sought in the ground: that notwithstanding they were at the Moate-side, and under the walles (as it were) of the Towne, yet these Trenches secured them sightlesse from their foes, with a safe shelterage; that when I went through them afterward, they in a manner resembled to me, that intricate Laborynth of *Dedalus*, cut out on the face of that *Cretan Ida*, or the *Cieuto Camarelle* of *Baia*: Then upon the Graffe-side, and point for point against the Enemy, in the two co-operative Divisions, there were foure other Batteries erected, to defend the advancement of the Galleries, that were to surprise and undermine the Bulwarke; which did so danton the desperate Defendants, that they were inforced in the day time to draw in their Cannons, and to labour them onely in the night; for upon the Princes seven Batteries, first aud last, there were mounted Twenty eight halfe Cannons, and with them twice as many Cannoniers.

Intricated Trenches and wonderfull workes.

Neither was the *French* at this time, and other times too, without great losse of Captaines, and other Commanders, besides abundance of common Souldiers, both slaine and wounded, of whom in Armies there is none, or very small reckoning made, save onely of Officers, of whom the Sergeant is meanest.

Great mortality amongst the *French*.

The

The chiefeſt of the *French* that was killed at this *Hornewarke*, was one *Monſieur du Charnacie*, Colonell, and Leaguer Ambaſſadour for the *French* King, who had his head ſhot off from the ſhculders, with the thundring meſſenger of a Cannon Bullet, and thereafter the reſt of his dead body was ſent to be interred in *France*.

Now betweene the *Engliſh* and *French* works there was a Traverſe made, and topped with a blind of buſhes, that if, and when neede required, they might the more facily relieve one another: And then next of all, they tooke in certaine Halfe Moones and Monts, whereby the Enemy on this quarter was abſolutely immured within the Towne. Whereupon the two Nations begun to found their Galleries, which were a pretway diſtantone from another about twice twelve ſcore paces, either contending who firſt ſhould paſſe the Towne-Moate, which was both large 167. and deepe 18. foote: where now I leave them for a while, jealous of other faſtidious Actions, and will fall downe a League Weſtward to *Grave Williams* Brigade, or *Scots* quarter, which was the place of my chiefeſt abode.

The *Engliſh* and *French* Galleries begun.

Heere, (as in the Princes quarter) at the beginning of their Approaches, with three *Redoubts* and two Batteries, the Enemy did divers times ſally forth upon them, but they were ever viriliouſly repulſed backe to their owne repugnable limits, with Martiall Affronts, and looſing of lives.

Bnt when the utmoſt of the *Scots* Trenches

The *Scots* quarter, and their great services.

and workes, encroached within push of Pike to the Enemies *Hornewarke*; at which time Colonel *Sandilands* was shot through the left Arme, from the wreist almost to his elbow, whereof (praised be God) he is now happily *convalesced*: then (I say) grim Fatality overspred these journall and Nocturnall Combattants, of both Factions, with the blacke *Cymmerian* wings of prepostrous Death: for as *Empidocles* threw himselfe in the *Ætnean* fires to be reputed for a *god*: so these rash and temerarious Souldiers (of whom my Countreymen were onely chiefest) did desperately cast themselves before the mercilesse mouthes of the Cannon and Musket, thinking thereby to gaine a *Bellonean* Reputation. Where otherwise they, or he, being fallen, and dead, (I meane the *Doltish Dutches*) his best Commerad would scarcely bring him off, and bury him, unlesse his backe had beene covered with rough cloaths.

The death and burial of Souldiers done without sorrow.

Then was his Corps layd on a Waggon, and brought to the Quarter, where straight on the backe side of the Trenches, his naked body was cast in a sandy hole, without Chest or Winding-sheete, nay, without any sorrow for the losse of his friend, which I dayly beheld, and much more than I here engrosse, to my great loathing and humane griefe: for as doubling waves devoure one another, till they breake upon the bellowing shoare: so the sequell dayes Mortality amongst them, swallowed up the memory of the preceding dayes misfortune, in the ingrate-

full

full darkneſſe of *Oblivion*. Nay, Death grew ſo obvious to every eye, as if Men had beene Mice, and Accidents, had beene Cats to devoure them; ſo that Mans *Cataſtrophe*, or *Epilogue* came to this *Epitaphium*, *Nunc abſit, & mortuus eſt.* Yea, and alſo the like Deſtinies, as well as here, were incident to the other Quarters about, for their quotidian Services and Attempts were ever as dangerous, as their Approaches inſulted upon the Reſiſters liberty and credit; neither were theſe diſaſters more influent to the Aſſailants, as fatall, and acerbiouſly occurrent to the Defendants.

The *Scots* aſſaile the Enemies *Hornewarke*.

But now to be punctuall; upon the ſecond of *September*, there came Direction from his Highneſſe to *Grave William*, that the *Scots* the day following ſhould ſtorme the *Hornewarke*, and that the *Dutches* ſhould ſecond them. To behold this Aſſault, came hither the Prince Elector *Palatine*, accompanied with two young *German* Dukes, *Lantſberg* and *Swarſbridge &c.* the Lord Viſcount *Grandeſon*, the Lord *Craven*, and certaine other *Engliſh* Gallants, of ſingular Note. Now with much difficulty had the *Scots* made a Buſſe-bridge over the Moate of the *Hornewarke*, where faſtning a Myne within the boſome of an earthen Rampier for paſſage ſake, which being blowne, it rebounded back on themſelves, (being the Enginiers fault) yet without any dammage, ſave onely a part of the Bridge broken downe.

Then was Lievtenant *Gladſtanes* commanded

by the Generall to fall on, and with him divers Officers, and some choise Companies of selected Souldiers, which indeed they both bravely and manfully accomplished: And with them fell on a certaine number of uncommanded Voluntiers, all *Scotsmen*. The Conflict for an houres space, was exceeding doubtfull and dangerous, for the Muskets and Firelocks never ceased, neither was the Sword and Pike short of the manliest usage, couragious valour could afford magnanimous Gallants.

The Enemy repulsed by the *Scots*.

At last the Enemy was beaten out of the body of the *Hornewarke*, with above threescore of them left there killed, and retyred to a crosse *Demilune*, erected within the inmost corner of this worke: from which place they damnably threw over Hand-garnads, Bullets of three pounds weight, and being empty within, they are filled with Powder, Pitch, and Sulphure, where falling on the ground, and breaking, spoyled a number of our men.

Then came certaine Companies of *Dutch* Firelocks to second them, and gave once fire; but by your leave, like cowardly beasts, and greedy slaves as they are, they left their service, and fell a spoyling of the dead bodies which the *Scots* had slaine.

A great death of *Scotsmen*, and shamefull flight of the *Dutches*.

In the end the buttery *Dutches* perceiving fresh supply comming out of the Towne, to ayde their almost vanquished consorts, the *Burgondions*, they shamefully fled, leaving with the incensed and exasperate Enemies the *Scots* at

pell

pell mell: in which place there were Thirty seven of them left dead, and Forty foure wounded, who with the rest were enforced to retyre againe to their owne Trenches, with the generall Applause of deare bought praise and commendation. In which Retreate Sergeant *Lindsey* was drowned in the Moate, whose body could never be found; notwithstanding wee supposed he had beene taken prisoner, but the Enemy the next day, avouched the contrary, to the great griefe of all his fellow souldiers, and to me much more; for I lay in his straw-built Cabine, & was familiar with him, as with a sociall friend.

The speciall of which fatall Voluntiers, was Lievtenant Colonell *Henderson*, whose Father, Sir *Robert Henderson* Colonell, and lately killed at *Bergenopzom*, was a sonne of that Venerable and Martiall Race of *Fordell*: And this young Accadent, as hee was bred of a valorous Father, so hee fought as valiantly as ever could a noble heart performe a manly part, and dyed in the bed of Honour. *Scots* gallants and Voluntiers killed.

Secondly, that Gallant and ever lamented Gentleman Captaine *Williamson*, who killed three men with his owne hands, and the fourth killed him: The third was Auncient *Hammilton*, *Perdevans* sonne beside *Lithgow*, who lately eight dayes before in another Conflict, had so couragiously behaved himselfe, that hee slew two *Vallounes*, and tooke captive the *Neapolitan Cantelmo*, carrying him away perforce, and with strong hand from amongst the midst

of his enemies, to his eternall fame; and now, and at this time, hee killed foure *Burgondions* before hee fell; whom then the Enemy knew well, becauſe of his red cloaths, where in a baſe and inhumane revenge, they mangled, cut, and carved his head, face, and dead body, that ſcarcely the next day, when his Corps was ſent over the Moate, could he well be knowne. The reſt were theſe Sergeants, *Lindſay*, *Inglis*, and *Corbet*, with divers moe young Gentlemen, of whom one *Moncreeffe*, a delicate Stripling, was much lamented.

Commanded Souldiers and their cruell conflict.

Of the hurt Voluntiers, was Sir *Philip Balfoure* one, who with Sword and Pike mantully behaved his weilding hands, and being ſhot in the left arme, came fairely off with deſerved reputation: Where, and there alſo, Auncient *Drummond* had his legge ſhot from him, which although it be the badge of a Souldier, yet it hath ſpoyled the comely feature of a gallant Perſonage.

Now of the commanded Souldiers, there was principally ſlaine Lievtenant *Gladſtanes*, an aged man, whoſe death his owne hands revenged, upon the lives of five *Burgondions* before hee fell dead, whoſe valour the very Enemy the next day mightily applauded. So with him was killed Auncient *Fargeſon*, with certaine others, whoſe names I ſuſpend to relate. The next morning there was a parley beaten on either ſide, that both foes might take away the dead, and bury them. All the dead *Scots* were ſpoyled by the Enemy,

A parley beaten for burying the dead.

ſave

ſave onely Captaine *Williamſon*, whoſe body one *David Anderſon* manfully brought off, to his great credit, and thereupon preſent preferment, and ſaved thereby his cloaths, and forty pieces of Gold that were in his pockets. The reſt were ſent over the Graffe in Boats ſtarke naked, and loathſome to behold.

The Corps of Lievtenant Colonell *Henderſon* was ſent to *Dunhag*, and there buried in the great Church beſide his Father; and the bodies of *Williamſon*, *Gladeſtanes*, and valiant *Hammilton*, were ſent three Leagues off, to *Gutrenberg*, and there interred in a Church. The reſt were buried at the *Hage*, and neare the *Scots* Quarter, with hollow Drummes, and volley ſhots, and Souldiers trayling Pikes before them, the miſerable mourning of *Mars*.

The next morning after this, the *Scots* made another Sally upon the *Hornwarke*, and then the *Burgondions* fled, leaving behinde them ſome Barrels of Beere, a number of Firelocks, and divers Bedſteads. Well, this deare bought *Hornwarke* was inſtantly turned over, and made defencive for the *Victors* uſe; and then cloſe by the Moate ſide there were two new Batteries made up, which forthwith diſmounting the Enemies Cannon, conſtrained the *Spaniard* to ſinke them lower in the Walles, and ſo they taught them (as the Proverb is) to eate their meate in order; for upon theſe foure Batteries here, there were mounted 14. halfe Cannons, with twenty three Cannoniers. Then that ſame night they begun

The *Scots* tooke in the Enemies *Hornewarke*.

their

their Gallery, whereof one *Iames Lecky* was chiefe Workmaſter, who was to have for perfecting the ſame, Thirty ſixe thouſand Gilders.

The advancement of the *Scots* Gallery.

Now to ſpeake a little of a Gallery, and how it is advanced, is thus: They firſt begin, and ſet ſome eight couple of Poſts in the dry land faſt founded, and then they goe on, and advance others in the watery Moate, by turnes and times, more and more, every poſt or couple being ſet two foote from another: As they are thus faſt above and under, ſo alſo are they flanked with boords, bundels of boughes and branches, and earth on both ſides, and above, to ſave the workmen from Muskets; for altogether theſe flankings are not Cannon proofe: And ſo as they proceede in the Graffe, they caſt in bundels of branches, and armes of Trees, and buſhes, and upon them they heape on ſand and earth, to fill their watery and plunging way, and ſo thereby to make a dry foundation, whereon to fixe their Poſts. Within it is the height of a man, and ſo wide, that foure may march ſide to ſide into it. In the further end, next the Towne-wall, as they wrought forward, the adventerous labourers had a blind before them, compoſed of boughes and earth, and that ſafeguard is ſometimes Cannon proofe.

What a Gallery is.

And notwithſtanding, there were every other day and night ſome killed, ſome wanting leggs and armes, and ſome wounded; yea, and the Cannon would breake downe at divers times ſundry of their poſts, which were aye ſpeedily renewed

newed againe: But what offended the Workemen here moſt, as alſo in the other Galleries, were theſe Morters, or Pot-pieces, three quarters of a Yard long, but exceeding large and wide; which will ſhoote Granadaes of a hundred pound weight, and more; for it is empty within, which being filled with cut iron, poulder, Pitch, and Sulphure, and ſo put in the Morter; the Cannonier taketh his height and ayme, (for it is ſhot off with the mouth halfe upward) by Art, Compaſſe, and Geometry, that hee will lay the Granada farre and neare as hee pleaſeth: for where it falls, it breakes in pieces, ſpoyling houſes, men, timber-workes, and whatſoever it rancounters withall. Morters or Pot-pieces.

And here by the way, I cannot forget a ſorrowfull ſport: one Night foure fellows working on the *French* Gallerie, and two of them killed with the Musket; there fell a Granada in midſt of the Gallery, to the which the other two ran to catch it, taking it for a Cannon-bullet; but as they begun to gripe it, it burſt in pieces, and blew them both in the Ayre, rent and torne aſunder to nothing. Neither are theſe Pot-pieces frequently ſhot off, but now and then, and at certaine ſerious times, and that becauſe of the great expences they make; for every charge of any of them, will coſt above fourſcore and ten Gilders, ſo large are their bellies, and diveliſh wide their mouths. Damnable Granadaes.

And now I remember, when the *Scots* Gallery was halfe over the Moate, and Lievtenant Colonell *Couts* ſtanding there, giving directions to Souldiers, there was a *Burgondion* from a wooden Wind-mill, on the Towne-wall, ſhot him through the thigh, and burſt

the bone in pieces, by the which this aged and brave Commander was left there for death; yet at my departure there was great hope of his recovery.

A winde-mill broke in peeces.

Whereupon the next day, Colonell *Balfoure* caused foure halfe Cannons to bee ſtalled againſt the Winde-mill, where downe it came with a rattle, and bruiſed the bones of ſome *Burgondions*, till their guts groaned againe. So likewiſe about this time one Captaine *Wachub* ſickned in the quarter, and dyed the third day thereafter, which was thought to have beene the Plague; for the Peſtilence was in all the quarters, and almoſt in every Regiment; yet with no force, nor infectious mortality, by reaſon of the Souldiers going abroad day and night to the Trenches, where lying in their clothes, and on the cold ground, infringed the contagion.

Captaine *Wachubs* death.

The profeſſion of Souldiers Religion.

Now as concerning their profeſſion, being in a Leaguer, every Regiment hath a Preacher, and on the Sabbath day under the Colonells Tent a Sermon, where few Auditors frequent, unleſſe it bee a poore handfull of ſome well diſpoſed perſons. And every day in the Afternoone, according to their turnes, when theſe Companies came up under their colours, that were to goe for the Trenches and Galleries, then the Predicators of each Regiment made an earneſt prayer, exhorting their Souldiers to goe on couragiouſly, and aſſuredly confident of the pardon of their ſinnes in Chriſts blood; and that they ſhould carry themſelves manfully in fighting Gods Battel, for the *Goſpells* liberty; which indeede ſome of them too inſolently and deſperately performed: for Religion now, in moſt parts of the whole Univerſe, is turned to policy, wherewith this *Belgican* State is

onely

onely and absolutely invested. And I had almost forgot a divellish weapon which both parties made use of, at their breasting of Trenches, which Souldiers cognominate, an iron Flaile, and is composed of two pieces, the shortest whereof, having a round head, (not much unlike to a Turkish *Balucco*) is set full of deepe steeled pikes, and they so sharpe and deadly, that there is no resistance nor fence for their blowes, each Souldier threshing death on others fatall bodies. Nay, I was astonished to behold such hellish Instruments, and my heart wished that the Inventers of them had the same reward, that *Phalaris* gave to *Perillus*, who tortured him in the brazen Bull, which hee invented for the destruction of others.

Iron Flailes threshing death.

And alas, what a poore thing is it, to see so many Gentlemen, and gallant youths of all kinds, to hazard their lives for so small a recompence, as five pence halfe penny a day, five Stivers, having their foode and apparrell to take out of it, besides their hard lying, and turmoyling services: which common calamities and profound extreame miseries, I would to God most of our younglings at home knew, then would they be carefull to prevent these languishing adversities, before they finde the succourlesse smart thereof: for by your leave, if a Souldiers industry be not quickened and animated with bountifull rewards, hee hath lesse will to performe any part of Martiall service, than a dead coarse hath power to arise out of the grave: for what can be more precious to man than his blood? being the fountaine & Nurse of his vitall spirits, and the ground of his bodily substance; which no free nor ingenious nature will loose for nothing.

The misery of a Souldiers life.

And whosoever shall argument or discourse upon found reason, and infallible experience, may easily prove and perceive, that those Commanders have ever best prospered, which have most liberally maintained, and had in singular regard Military Arts and Souldiers : Otherwise the honourable mind would account it a great deale better, to have Death without Life, than Life without Reward ; yea, and the noble Commander desiring rather to want, than to suffer true Worth unrecompensed. I could instance here many Examples of Ingratitude in great persons, that by their wretchednesse to Souldiers, have first lost themselves, and then their Kingdoms and Principalities ; but I desist, onely lamenting what I saw here, that even the chiefest Commanders, (Fatality is so ordinary to Military proceedings) so they obtaine their ambitious ends, regarded no more the losing of mens lives, than the death of dogges.

The *Freizes* quarter and their adventures.

But now I come to the third Quarter, setled on the Townes North side, the *Freizes*, under command of Counte *Casmir* their Generall : Truely they had the most difficult passage to make their Approaches, than any of the other two besides ; for they had a long and fastidious way of marish water, to march along a Dike blinded with bushes, to their workes before the Castle : Yet they were still advancing their encroachments to affront the Enemies *Hornewarke*, which they thrice invaded, and were still repulsed, with a great losse of many of their best Officers and Souldiers. And howsoever they came short of the policies and expedition of the other two Quarters, yet in the end, being ashamed of their postponed purposes,

poſes, they deſperately, on Saturday at mid-day, *September* 29. *Stilo Gregorio* ſet upon the Enemies *Hornewarke*, and made exceeding good fire for an houres ſpace, and beate their Oppoſers into the Towne, with great mortality on both ſides, and ſo turned over the worke defencible for themſelves: Whereupon they began their Gallery, but to no purpoſe, the other three being cloſing with the VValles and theirs in twenty dayes time could not have beene perfected; where now I leave them, (nevertheleſſe) well worthy of a good remembrance: their Batteries were onely foure, and planted with twelve halfe Cannons.

But now to returne unto his Highneſſe quarter, where I had my laſt and journall Reſidence, till the bowels of *Breda* gave my long expectation a deſired *Albergamento*; I found ſhortly thereafter, the Engliſh and French galleries fully done, and faſtned to the Root of the promontoriat Baſtion, where there and then each Nation begun to worke their Mines. In this performance, the French out-ſtripped the Engliſh, and had advanced their inſinuating projects two pikes length in the Wals, beſides divers dividuat chambers in the Worke before the other; but yet the Engliſh gallerie was thicker of poſts, and ſtronger builded than the French: For indeede the Engliſh had bin mightily hindred in advancing their gallery, by the Enemies Cannon, which often ranverſed divers of their poſts; and as they were as ſpeedily renewed agayne, with the loſſe of many poore lives; ſo theſe work-men adventured to advance the gallery here, and in the other two galleries alſo, for extraordinary wages, ſome ten, ſome twenty

Engliſh and French Galleries done.

twenty dollors in a night: And notwithstanding, most of these desperate labourers, made a dolorous end, and uever enjoyed them, for the Muskets without and fire-locks within, day nor night, wer never at rest; besides skirmishes and ambushes still from either party exploited at all advantages. Truely, I speake it credibly, the French nation did never so good service, with such promptitude and dexterity, and so happy a successe, as here before *Breda*; neither did they ever gaine the like commendation since their first comming here, to serue under the States, as the whole Army, not themselves did testifie.

Well, upon the first of October, the Prince rode downe, with two followers, to the galleries, (as he most adventrously did every day) to pry into the Mines, for he himselfe is an excellent Engenier: during his abode there, the Cannon and the Musket played most grievously upon the Towne-houses and Wals, in so much that the Enemy could hardly foot himselfe for any shot at all. But when night came, and the Spaniards re-setling their Cannons in the hollow flankes of their Bulwarks, then fell both sides to worke, and all the Quarters about the Towne, with thundring and roaring sounds, as if Heaven and Earth had met together, yea, and with a greater clamour then the *Vlysses* wooden Horse made to fatall *Troy*. For the Princes Cannon went ever all the night till the morning as thicke off, as the nimble fingers of a youngling, play upon the Virginals; but their Musicall Notes were different, the one delicious, and the other dreadfull. Whereupon, and because the strength of the Enemy grew defective, their forces impaired by slaughter, and their

The mynes begun in the Towne-walls.

Great thundring of Cannon and Musket.

their Amunition altogether deficient, (which was well knowne to the Prince, and the whole Army a Fort-night before this their re-enforced ſubmiſſion) then beate they their Drummes about the walles, for a generall parley to all the Quarters, about ſeven a Clocke on Tueſday morning, *October* 6. *Stilo Italico*, and ſo the Cannon ceaſed on both ſides, and there was no more ſhooting, invaſion, nor reſiſtance.

The Enemy beates a parly to render the Towne.

Upon which there ſorted an Officer from the Governour at *Ginnekin* Port, and well mounted on Horſeback, who rode Poſt up to his Highneſſe, rancountering me as I ran downe to the Trenches. The Commiſſion of the Governour being delivered to the Prince, and his flexibility conſidered, there were Hoſtages ſent from both ſides, for the aſſurance of fidelity to other; three aged Colonells from the Prince, and ſixe Burgers from the Towne.

Well, in the Afternoone there came from the Towne five ſufficient men of quality, and a Cathedrall Prieſt, cloathed in a white Robe, and a white Hat, ſignifying Peace; (for he was no Monke, unleſſe hee had beene *Lucifer* in a Monkes habit, nor none of the like order in the Towne) Theſe ſixe came (I ſay) to capitulate with the Prince, and Councell of War, upon pretended Articles. They moved the Prince for the Freedome of a Church to celebrate the Maſſe into, for the ſtaying of ſome of their Clergy there, and ſome other libertinous demands; but they were all refuſed with this ſolid and generall Anſwer: To wit, that theſe Conditions which *Spinola* 13. yeeres before, *Anno* 1625. *July* 5. gave to Colonell *Morgan*, who was conſtrained by famine, after 11. Moneths ſiege to ſurrender it; the

selfe same conditions should they receive, and no more, and so it was concluded under the shaddow of Eighteene Articles, the chiefest whereof were these: First, that they should have three dayes time to stay in the Towne, to prepare and accommodate themselves, and what they had for Transportation. Secondly, that the Prince should furnish them with foure hundred Waggons, to carry away their leggage, baggage, Women, Children, Priests, and lame men for the Towne of *Machlein*. Thirdly, that they should march out of Towne with flying Colours, kindled Matches, shouldred Muskets, and Bullets in their mouthes. Fourthly, that they should take with them foure halfe Cannons, and two Pot-pieces; but the courteous Prince gave them two more, which made sixe *Cartouses*, and two Morters. Fiftly, that none should search nor enquire for what they carried, nor no recapitulation to bee made of booties and blood past, and that there should goe a Convoy of Horsemen with them halfe way to *Machlein*. Sixtly, that all the Towne Burgers, which were Papists, should have two yeeres time to reside there, for disposing of their houses, lands, or goods, during the which space, they were to enjoy the profits of whatsoever they had, and then to depart, under the paine of severe punishment, and confiscation of their estate. Seventhly, that the two Nunneries there, should have liberty to keepe within doores enduring life; but no Priest to be allowed them for Masses, nor to stay within the Towne, under the paine of Death. Eightly, that those Souldiers which were fallen sicke, lame, or wounded, lying in the Hospitall for health, should

The Articles and Conditions made to the *Spaniards*.

remaine

remaine there in ſafety till their convaleſcment, and then to have a ſafe convoy, ſent with them halfe way to *Machlein*. Ninthly, that there ſhould two ſufficient Pledges ſtay in *Breda*, untill ſuch time, that the *Spanyards* ſent backe the aforeſaid Waggons and Bowres without any dammage or offence.

The Waggons ſent to tranſport the enemy.

Leaving as unneceſſary the leſſer Articles to bee rehearſed: Vpon Saturday, *October* 10. the Waggons being all in readineſſe, and ſent in unto them, and well provided with good Horſes, they begun to take their journey, about 11. a clocke in the forenoone, but very ſlowly, which wearied our expectation: Firſt then, there marched forth 3. ſeverall and diſtant diviſions of Muskets, Firelocks, and Pikes, and the fourth diviſion came laſt of all with the Governour, and hee alſo in a Coach, carrying with them fifty one Colours, the halfe of which wanted Companies, being cut off at the ſiege, ſo that one Auncient ſometimes carried three Colours,

Betweene the firſt three, and laſt diviſion, came all the Waggons along, one drayning after another, with their Houſehold ſtuffe, (ô miſerable furniture) Women, Children, and wounded people, with ſixe halfe Cannon, and two pot peices.

Next unto the Buſſport, at their forth comming, and without two draw Bridges and an empty Court du guard, ſtood the Prince his owne Guard, 300. Foot, and a troupe of Horſes, all armed, with Corſlets, and head-peices as cleare as ſilver, or ſhining like to *Eurileus Murreon* in the Cinthian night; by & along whoſe faces they marched through Count *Caſmirs* Brigade, for they were in armes, becauſe they

The Enemies marching out of *Breda*.

passed through their quarter, and in one part their Trenches were cast downe for their departure.

But what shall I say of the great concurrence, and innumerable numbers of people which flocked hither, of all sorts under the States, Merchants, Burgers, and Bowres, maides, aud wives. that came, to see this *Hispanicall* farewell; nay, certainely there were above three hundred thousands, yong and old: for such a sight at once, and on the faire Fields, was never seene assembled together, (as I may say) since *Tamberlanes* dayes; that in my conceite it was a rarer thing to behold the infinite multitude heere convocated, than either to stand gazing upon the vanquished Viadants, or to admire the alacrious faces of the triumphing Victors.

Romish Priests mounted on Carroches.

Then before the last division of the *Spaniards*, and behind the Waggons, marched forth some *Romish* Religious Orders, namely, 16. Dominican Friars, and eight *Augustines*, all in blacke and white habits. Next to them came some stragling *Cordeleirs*, amounting to ten, whom the *Italians* denominate *Chiogolanti*, because they weare wooden shooes: Then after them issued out five or sixe staggering Seminary Priests, who partly for sorrow to leave the Towne and friends, and partly to expell their visible causes of griefe, and invisible melancholy, they were so overwhelmed in the plunging profundity of *Bachaniall* streames, that one tumbled downe here, and another fell there, whereby they became a laughter to all the Army, and a miserable mockery to scornefull Spectators: Now amongst the VVaggons there were heere and there certaine stragling Firelocks marching along, and behind their heeles,

Some drunken Priests.

that

that predominant and imperious sect of the *Tiatinean* Jesuits, being fourteene in number, and as well mounted on Carroshes of foure wheeles, as if they had beene *African* Apes, riding on Elephants of foure leggs.

Capushin Fryars marching forth before the Governor.

The last division of the foure was the strongest of all, and best accommaded; where behind them and before the Governour, marched seven couple of *Capushin* Friars, the first of which paires carryed a high wooden Crosse, with a Ladder, a Reed, a hanging Spunge, and a Launce fastened to it, with other dependancies. The aged Governour being postremest, was mounted in a Coach, and overloaden with all the signes of a dejected countenance, marched away after the rest, (and I after him) to the utmost Trench or Line. Where the Prince of *Orange* stayed for his comming, accompanied with these three Princely brothers, his grand Nephews, Prince *Charles*, Prince *Robert*, and Prince *Maurice* of the *Palatine*, with all the other Dukes, Counts there present, and Generalls of the Army.

The Prince of *Orange* conferres with the Governour in his journey.

The Governour approaching his Highnesse, dismissed the Coach, and mounting on Horsebacke, saluted his Conquerour, with an exceeding low courtesie, and wringing complements: The benigne Prince did fully the like to him; where after halfe an houres conference, and blandements blowne on others mouthes, the weeping Governour tooke a finall farewell of his victorious Adversary.

The number of these foure Divisions, which marched away in Armes, were thought to be (besides foure hundred straggling Firelocks;) about fifteene hundred Souldiers, all lusty men, and in good E-

quipage, whose Martiall countenances seemed rather to have overcome these who overcame them, than to have beene vanquished by their valour, and inexpugnable fortunes; whose brave service and desperate defence, for approved worth and deserved fame, may justly claime the *Constantinopolitan Hippodrome*, to engrave thereon their couragious Atchievments, which in ten weekes and five dayes time they worthily performed. And truely I may say, although I have small reason for it, (when I remember these miseries I sustayned in *Malaga*) that never Souldiers did more, nor could doe better. Well, and thrice well, and howsoever they fought well, they are now well gone; and straight at the last of their backes, when they left the Towne, entred in the Princes Guard, and twelve other Companies, to keepe the Burgers unwronged from insidiary Souldiers, till a constant Garrison was setled.

At their entering the Gate, and I with them, his Highnesse Trumpetters, from above in a Bulwarke, sounded three times, the most joyfull *Victoria*, and the sweetest melodious Tryumph, that ever I heard in all my life, wheresoever I have beene. Now for contentment I stayed five nights in *Breda*, as glad to have obtained the freedome, which I had so dearely bought before, in lying seven weekes and foure nights in wet straw Howtes, on cold straw-beds, and continually in my cloaths, which was a Nocturall *Limbus* to try my patience, as the Leaguer was a diurnall Purgatory for the purging of money out of my purse.

The Authors abode in *Breda*.

But now, not to bee oblivious, I recall, that at the

the beginning and about the middle time of the ſiege, there remained heere in the Princes quarter for certaine dayes, theſe two noble Lords, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and the Earle of *Northampton*; and with him was the Queenes Majeſties Dwarfe, ſtrenuous *Ieffrey*, that *Cyclopian* creature, whoſe Gygantiſme body made the Bulwarkes of *Breda* to tremble: But rather I would ſay, this Sonne of *Conopas* made the whole Army to admire his monſtrous ſmalneſſe; who for this *Bellonean* practice our Champion ſaw, hee may juſtly, as Generall, lead an Army of Pigmaes to the *Catopian* Fields; where *Molon*, Commander of the contrary Campe, will runne at tilt againſt him, with the Launce of a Ruſh, as long as a ſtraw: and ſo leaving this memorable Monument of a living Statue, I returne to my purpoſe. Truely it was a pleaſant thing to behold the cheare-full countenance of common Souldiers, when they marched to the *Court du Guard* in the Market place, and to other remoter ſtaunces about the walles; for they looked all as Lords of this vanquiſhed Lady.

And now the next morning after my firſt entery in the Towne, being Sunday, there were two Sermons made in the great Church by *Dutch* Predicants to Gods glory, where the day preceding, there had beene fifteene Maſſes, celebrate to the Veneration of imaginary Saints. For Wine and victuals we found plenty in the Towne, and no ſcarcity of any thing ſave of favourable faces; and for excellent good Beere of all *Belgia*, *Breda* is the Daughter of *Bacchus*. As for moſt of the Burgers, all this time they kept their doores faſt, lamenting within what they could not helpe without, being ſhrewdly

Melancholy Burgers.

invenomed with the perturbulent Iesuits before their departure.

The Towne it selfe I found mightely deformed, and the houses beaten downe most lamentably with the Cannon; in all these three corned streets, that were opposite, to the three quarters without, whereof *Ginnekin* streete, from the Princes batteries was worst defaced; that it grieved me to heare of the great fatality, these downe-falling houses brought to the inhabitants, as also the sorrow to behold betweene two extreames, the miserable effects of warre; which I leave my mourning Muse to deplore.

O woefull warre, which lessens wealth, and strength
And brings the ruynes of ruine at length:
It doth dishonour Honour, and degrad
The mighty Man, from what his greatnes had:
Which weight let Tyrus, *sometimes stately plum'd*
With Troy *and* Thebes, *both alike consum'd:*
Swell'd Ninivie, *whose fragments nought imparts,*
And Learned Athens, *once the source of Arts;*
With sightlesse Carthage, Lacedemon *rent,*
Iebus *and* Bagdat, *in a manner shent;*
Sardis, Syracuse, Adrianople lost,
Nay, now stress'd Almaine *with such sorrowes crost,*
Denote and shew, what time and wars have wrought,
That crusht their might (from flatring pride) so nought
Nay, Monarchies, great Kingdoms, th' Universe
Are prest to change, erect'd, throwne downe by Mars.
Like to the rage of the impetuous flood
Debording from his banks, leaves slime and mood
To choake the fertile plaines; supplants the rootes
Of Hearbes *and* Trees; *defaceth quite the fruits*

of

Of Grapes *and graine; and often breakes the walls*
Of ſtrongeſt Townes, whereon deſtruction falls.
Even ſo the furye of the bloody warre,
In breaking downe the bonds of peace; debarre
The links of Love and alliance, quite defaceth
The liberty of nature, and diſgraceth
The ornaments of Time; and cuts the throat
Of martiall darlings; then caſts up the lot
Of deſolation; which deſtroyeth all
Which can to meane or mighty men befall:
So, ſo Breda, *was fought, and ſought, and wounded,*
By him, whoſe ſtocke, her firſt foundation founded.

Now the next morning after the Towne was ſurrendred, there came forty eight Trumpeters before the Princes lodging, and ſounded the victory over *Breda*, and after them came foure hundred threeſcore and twelve drummes, doing the like, to whom and every one of them, there was rewards given as a thing due to their Calling after any victory.

The third day of this viciſſitude, being munday morning, then the whole quarters began to ſlight and caſt downe their workes, equalizing them with the ground; but underſtand me better, no man wrought but for extraordinary pay, for they can not compell a Souldier, by the law of Armes, to doe any more than march, watch, and fight, without a ſecondary acknowledgement: but the moſt difficult toile of all, was to empty the moate, of infinite bundles of Boughes and armes of Trees, and to pull downe the Galleries, whoſe erections had been ſo fatall to many miſfortunate lives.

Then, and at that time, all the Country Bowres about

All the works and Approaches without are cast down.

about, were commanded every man in his owne ground, to levell and throw downe, the out trenches, *Redoubts*, and other workes, which in 16. dayes time was cheerefully performed.

Now upon the fourth day after the Townes surrendering, being wednesday, *October* 14. there were solemne feastings, and bonfires made through all the Townes of the jurisdictions and Provinces under the united States, for this unestimable victory: And upon the sixt day thereafter, the Prince, Princesse, and young Prince of *Orange* with all the cheife Commanders of the Army, had their Jubile, and Triumphs observed, within the Castle of *Breda* at supper, with bonefires, and thundering Cannons within the walles, to which the Army without, for 2. houres space, made an equivox of Volley-roaring shots from innumerable Muskets; as if the mountaines of *Cuma*, and *Sybillaes* chambers, with their neighbour *Apolloes* Temple, had beene throwne downe, with a counterbanding clangor, in the *Avernian* Lake.

The joyfull *Victoria* kept in *Holland* and *Breda*.

And then the sequell day, all things for preservation of the Towne being appointed and setled, as well for victuals as military provision; the Lord *Baverward* a brave young Gentleman, and naturall Sonne to Count *Maurice* of famous memory, was enstaled governour: With threescore Companies of foote and horse, eight whereof were Scots, and English, the rest Dutches, French, and Friezes: Where now I leave them, as they were left, to erect three Sconses or Forts, without the workes of the 3. Ports; and another Fort at *Terheyden*, to keepe the River of *Mark* passable, and so thereby the safety of Traffickers procured. And now leaving this con-

Baverward left Governor of *Breda*.

spicuous

ſpicuous Conqueſt, I fall upon the good newes, that with this Victory, came all at one time to the Leaguer; to wit, that Mariſhall *Chatilion*, Generall of the *French* Army in *Artois*, had defeated there the Cardinals Army, with the ſlaughter of two Regiments, beſides ſome taken priſoners, and with them twelve Pieces of Ordnance.

Good Newes from other parts which came to the Leaguer.

And from the Eaſterne *Germany*, the like good newes came by one Mr. *Grahame*, ſonne to the Heritour of *Killearne*, that the *Scots* and *Swedes* had given to the *Saxon* and *Auſtrian* forces, a ponderous overthrow: And with theſe *Buonos Novellos*, came the Victory of *Bernard Saxe Wymer*, fought beſide *Strauſberg*, againſt the Imperiall Army, where with many thouſands the Emperors Generall was killed. Neither may I thruſt in Oblivion the auſpicuous attempts and approved valour of mine ever renowned Countrey-man, Generall *Leſſlie*, who in a moſt ſingular manner, *Anno* 1636. *Auguſt* 9. at the battell of *Whiteſock*, (beſides other famous and fortunate Conflicts) had both the *Vanguard* and the Victory. O memorable Victory! and put to flight the Duke of *Saxon*, and the Imperialiſts with great ſlaughter; ſeazing on foure thouſand Waggons, five whereof were loaden with Ricks Dollours, and with them twenty eight pieces of Ordnance.

Where, and at which Rancounter, that hardy and redoubted Gentleman Colonell *Robert Cunyngham* was ſlaine, a ſonne of the houſe of *Boniton* upon the River of *Clyde*, and once my Condiſciple in *Lanerk*. Nor dare I ſeclude from this commemoration, that ever honoured Commander, Generall *Ruthwen*, whoſe fidele ſervice and manly proweſſes are Orien-

Certaine valiant *Scots* Worthies.

tally knowne, as well to the foes, as to the friends of *Swethlands* Crowne. And what shall I speake of late Colonell *Hepburne*? but let *Germany*, *France*, and fatall *Loraine*, where hee was killed, affirme and approve of him, that hee was absolutely one of the best Souldiers in Christendome, and so consequently of the World. After whose death, succeeded to his place the younger Colonell *Hepburne*, his Cousin, sonne and apparent Heire of that ancient House of *Wachton*, who now lately, on the Frontiers of *France*, and about the former disastruous place, hath suffered the like fatall blow of prepostorous death.

But now to returne to the *Lesslies*, of whom there are so many valorous Colonells and Captaines, besides the aforesaid Generall, that I may justly averre it, that there are not so many of one Surname within *Europe*, and in this Age, have acquisted more credit, honour, and indubitable reputation, than that Heroick and *Bellonean* Name hath done. Whereof *Gustavus* ghost may testifie not onely of them, but also of divers other worthy and noble Commanders, as these honourable Colonells, *Mackay*, now Lord of *Raye*; two of the Surnames of *Lindsey*, Earles of *Crawfurd*, the noble *Forbes*, two of *Hamilton*, three of *Cuningham*; the rest of the Colonels were *Monroe*, *Lumsdale*, *Stewart*, *Keith*, *Baillie*, *Gunne*, and that once highly respected Commander under the Marquesse of *Hannay*, Sir *Iames Ramsey* lately deceased: with sundry like Colonells, and many Captaines of notable memory; and so from them generally of the whole *Scots*, their followers, that they have beene the nerves and sinews of his Army, yea, and

Twenty eight *Scots* Colonells at one time under the King of *Swethland*.

and the Sword of his right hand: for as the *Myrmedons* were the Bulwarkes of *Alexanders* fortunes, ſo were they the Pike and Buckler of all *Adolphus* moſt glorious Atchievments, as well in *Prucia*, *Germany*, as on the borders of *Ruſſia*, or elſe where; whoſe proper and peculiar Acts of moſt of them I could ſeriouſly divulge, but time, it traitours me: neither may this preſent Volumne permit to engroſſe any prolixious ſubject, (howſoever neceſſary) unleſſe I had a propoſed drift to perfect punctually in a larger Relation than this, their generous and generall proceedings, their Heroick Exploits, and faſtidious following of their adventurous labours in Martiall Diſcipline; and ſo I haſten to *Finis*.

But what ſhall I ſay? *Scotland* now a dayes hath no Hiſtorian, braveſt Wits turne dull, Poëts ſing dumbe, Pen-men grow deafe, and beſt ſpirits ſlumber. And why? becauſe there is no *Mecenas*, as little regard, farre leſſe reward to laborious Recorders. So that now by numbers of ingratefull Patrones, the praiſes of paſt Worthies lie interred in the duſt, and future times robbed of the neceſſary knowledge of things paſt and preſent; and thus in the darkneſſe of Ingratitude, the living men murder the memory of the dead. Nay, and worſe, Pen-men now may not labour in their paines, becauſe of clowniſh Carpers, Critticks, Calumniators, and diſtracted Cenſurers, that tare the life of Vertue in pieces with their ſpightfull tongues; for it is a more facile thing for a Miſcreant to judge, than to ſuffer judgement himſelfe: And eſpecially ſome raw-mouthd younglings, (nay, rather fondlings) who being newly Laureate, after ſhort foure

Ingratefull Times.

halfe yeares time spent in the Colledge, they come forth from this small Commencement, (wanting wit, judgement, and understanding) like to Bulls broken out from Dungeons, to beare the faces of the world: Wise men are ignorant to them, the Laiety but Lubbards; old men but fooles, and they will have men of honour, to honour them with the first good morrow, the top of the Table, the Right hand, and the entery of the Doore. And why? because they are over-master'd with Art, not Masters of it; having their shallow braines loaden with the empty apprehension of bottomlesse Syllogismes, rotten ragges of Heathnish Philosophy, and clouted phrases of Paganisme Authors, who but they? and if they rayle upon Divine Authority, Vulgars say, they are brave Schollers, hopefull youths, and well set; away, runne here and there, goe beyond Sea, to teach and concionate. Some of which presumptuous crew I found here in the Leaguer before *Breda*, (I meane of mine owne Countrey-men, and none other) whose beardlesse mouths have greater neede of more Learning, Knowledge, and Instruction, than to dare to doe the thing they cannot doe; whose Names I reserve to discover in my verball and ordinary discourses.

The arrogancy of young beardlesse Schollers.

And now to close up all, the two aforesaid Rivers of *Marck* and *A*, were returned againe to their owne Channells, yet not without great dammage, and impetuous violence done to their next bordering bounds. After this the Army dissolved, and every Company sent to their owne Garrison: where from thence also, the Prince with his ordinary Guard went up the *Rhine*, to surveigh and strengthen

Marck and *A*, returned to their owne courses.

then the Townes and places there of greateſt importance, with all neceſſary proviſion.

Whence I ſailing downe from *Breda* to *Dunhag*, preſented the Majeſty of *Bohemia*, with ſome of my former workes: And having viewed and reviewed her princely Children here, and at *Leyden*, ſix ſonnes and foure Daughters, whom God may long bleſſe, proſper, and preſerve; I returned to *Rotterdam*, and thence I imbarked for *Camphiere* in *Zeland*.

And now I thinke it not amiſſe, to lay open briefly ſome generall Obſervations that I gathered of *Holland*, their condition of living, their politick government, and of their forces by Sea and Land. Firſt then, as for their carriage and manner of converſation, they are a ſelfe-loving people, juſt and ſtrict in their bargaines, nothing to ſpare, nothing to lend; cheape buyers, and deare ſellers; civill in ſhew, and churliſh of nature: their Birth and breeding ſemblable, to the Mechanick vulgarity of their actions; painefull and induſtrious for profit, but nowayes courteous, nor charitable: Their Gentry is meſculat, and the true Quinteſſence thereof remaining onely in the houſe of *Bredrod*; they keepe their houſes cleanly, and goe honeſtly apparrelled; they will doe any thing for advantage, and nothing without gaine: They are great miſregarders of Strangers, notwithſtanding they live ſafely under the ſhelter of their bloody Swords; and in a word, they are *Phariſes* without, and hollow *Hebrewes* within.

The conditions and manners of the *Dutcher*.

For government, the States, they are ſublimely politick, wonderfull provident, and great Intelligencers abroad; and for preventing inconveniences and foreſeeing of ſafety, their Republick excelleth

The provident States.

Venice, and all the Common-wealths of the world; they are mighty in meanes, laying grievous Taxes and Assizes upon the people, which still double the value of any thing the Commonalty buy or sell.

Holland maintaines yeerely 100000. souldiers by Sea and Land.

As for their Army by Land, generally in Garrisons, and on the Field, consisteth (as I was credibly informed) of threescore and ten Thousand men; and by Sea, and in the East and West *Indies* thirty thousands more, which this handfull of *Holland* doth dayly sustaine; the rest of this Discourse I omit, till such time that I enlarge my former Booke of Travells.

And now to observe my methodicall order, I found in the aforesaid *Camphiere* a *Scots Staple*, and over it a venerable Gentleman, Master *Patrick Drummond*, Lord *Conservator* there for the Burroughs, (Merchants, and Traffickers here) of *Scotland*, to whose love I celebrate this gratefull memory.

This Isle of *VVaker*, a part of *Zeland*, is eight English miles in length, and thrice as much in circuite; containing these three Townes, *Camphiere* to the East, *Middlebrough* in the midst, and *Flushen* to the South-west: betweene which Townes there is a delicate smooth Calsey of thin Bricke, hedged and ditched on both hands; that in walking of it, me thought I had beene in the Valley of *Suda*, else in the *Tempian* Plaines, watered with pleasant *Permessis*. Arrived at *Flushen*, and attending for Transportation to *England*, there came in one morning five *Zelander* ships, men of Warre, who brought in three prizes, *Dunkirker* ships, furnished with threescore and twelve pieces of Ordnance, some whereof were Brazen halfe Cannon and Culve-

Five *Flushenet* Ships seaz'd on three *Dunkirkers*.

rin;

rin; and on theſe ſhips three hundred and ſixteene Captives, who now lye there incarcerate till their Redemption.

Indeede theſe *Dunkirkers* brought with them a great deale of joy to the Inhabitants: but what ſhall I ſay? the ſecond night following, a drunken Pilot caſt away one of theſe great ſhips (brought in theſe prizes) upon the Iſle of *Caſſand*, juſt before the Towne; of whom, and of them, I may ſay as *Maharrabell* ſaid to his Maſter, *Vincere ſcis* Annibal, *victoria uti neſcis.* But now to conclude, if there be any Britannian or Hybernian deſirous to ſee and try the effects of Purgatory, let him go over to *Fluſhen*, where it will ſoone purge his purſe of Money, and his Heart of patience; and ſo farewell, for I am landed at *Graveſend.*

FINIS.

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